1: Gayton E-6 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

136 Two unrecognizable creatures were de-
825 scribed by J.A. One was called "acorn" (e´s:n) "because it is red like an acorn. It comes out of the ground just after sunrise and flies off." The other (čitbɔ´bi) might possibly be horned toad; it lives in the ground, has horns, a tail, is flat, is gray with black spots, it has four legs but walks rather than hops.

Nature

821 Thunder (kunumu´mwiya) is personified in charmstones called u´nok (see Rain-Making, p. 37)

Unok can be dreamed; when it likes you, you can find pretty ones. Unok is thunder: there are four brothers, two are triangular tule (pu´muk) and two round tule (po´ton). Poton is soft, rolling thunder and Pumuk is loud and explosive.

Once after sundown on the day of a big storm Teresa saw a man on the horizon, he was wearing ceremonial feather garments and was dancing the kam [the ordinary doctor's dancing step].

J.A. amplified her statement later (1929). She said thunder is made by two brothers who shake tules. Pumuk, the triangular tule, is the worst, he is mean and smashes things. The little flat tule, Poton, is the little thunder which says, "ta,ta,ta,ta, boom." Lightning is thought to be part of thunder, is called ka´l:l; a mild thunder [lightning?] is called kal:la´mi.

[755 If a person were feverish, a layman with
823] supernatural power might rub him all over with a charmstone (unok). These charmstones are "part of the world, they came that way, they were not made by anyone." Doctors did not use them.

821 The rainbow (sai´yap, Chunut; yo´nina,
262 Wukchumni [J.A.]) is made of flowers. It has four stripes: the purple-red stripe is of ka´sy:n flowers whose seeds are greatly prized; blue is of tsa´lu, grass nuts; the yellow is oto´hon, a yellow prairie flower; and the orange of waṭa´gu, a wild flower "that looks something like a marigold." These flowers or their seeds are all edible except watagu. A rainbow forecast a plentiful food supply, "it will bring a good world [year] and plenty to eat"; but it had no supernatural significance.[36]

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[36] A Palligawanap John Powers interviewed at the Tule River Reservation stated that "the rainbow is the sister of Polmh [the creator] and her breast is covered with flowers," but he also said that some thought a rainbow marked the first menses of some maiden (p. 395).

756 Nevertheless, this was said in a prayerful
787 manner, as if to convince herself and any unknown power behind the dream, that all was well.
[A neighbor of J.A.'s was said to be a prostitute. J.A. has tried to keep Belle out of
[548] difficulties with men lest she "lose her grub from the government."]

[555] In connection with dreams J.A. stated that a plain person (of no family prestige) "could dream and get to be something." A man could dream of Eagle, which would help him acquire wealth, and he would then be a chief (tiya).[82]

Dreams were regarded as actualities. If one dreamed that someone was gossiping about him, he would chide the person about his behavior at the first opportunity.[83]

756 The man who accepted dream help and wished to become a professional shaman continued his
787 fasting, dreaming, and praying over a long period of time. He secured walaṭ, the talis-
778 mans of his dream helper: these might be parts of animals or birds who were assisting him, or objects which they directed him to obtain. They might be a necklace of beads, or any object designated in a dream, such as a weasel skin, bird or animal heads, or a portion of the dream helper, its wing or tail feathers. The walaṭ always referred to the dream helper and was indicated by it. An exception to this is the eagle-down strings, which always were imbued with ṭ'pni and were the common "tool" for magic. J.A. said a raven's head was a "good" walaṭ, she had seen one which its owner kept wrapped in eagle down. Weasel skins were used in extracting "airshot."

A walat, once used, lost its usefulness. The owner took it out and hid it in some secluded spot, and if he wanted to live long, he would never take it out again. Owners of walaṭ kept them carefully in some private place as they were dangerous, "they got mean if they were lost or carelessly handled; they talked about you."

The walat of the Chunut is identical with the ai´n:tc of the Wukchumni. Both people used the word ana´ṭwal to indicate the dream itself, or verbally for the process of dreaming. It appears that the foothill people use the first part of the word to indicate the dream talisman (ain:tc), the lake people the second part (walaṭ).

Sickness and Curing

755 In curing a patient a doctor took with him a flint knife for cutting, a bunch of hand

[82] This seems somewhat contrary to the inheritable nature of the office but agrees with her statements concerning Chunut chieftaincy made at another time.

[83] J.A. complained that some neighboring Indians were "talking about" her while I was there, and I could never discover whether this was real or dreamed.

755 feathers (so´n:l or wača´m) to brush off the illness, and his talismans. Eagle-down strings were worn wrapped around the body. Special walaṭ, such as animal heads, were pressed against the patient's body and held up in different directions while the doctor prayed to the supernatural helper it represented. A powerful doctor was able to suck out sickness without making any incision.

When Poso'o was in the process of curing a person he never ate or drank, nor did he sleep. He would bathe, walk about in secluded places, and converse with his walaṭ or with some animal who would tell him what to do. A cure usually lasted two days: the first "call" was made in the evening, and was for the purpose of diagnosis. Then the shaman consulted his supernatural assistants, as above, and return to effect the cure at noon of the following day. It was then that he announced the cause of the sickness and fell to work with cutting, sucking, and brushing. If he were treating a wound which was dirty, he would blow on it, lick it thoroughly, and spit onto a tray (tsa´p:l) covered with sand. Sand, saliva, etc., were dumped on a fire.

A doctor of standing had an assistant (añutun winatum) who looked after his paraphernalia, prepared the medicines if any were to be administered, dressed the shaman in his ceremonial costume and painted his face, and removed the sickness, which was squeezed or spat onto a tray. The doctor's winatum, like the chief's, had Dove as his family totem.

756 A doctor's paraphernalia were burned on his death; they were not inherited even though [428] the man had a son who was a shaman. Neither was there inheritance of his ritual methods. A shaman would probably have one son who would be a doctor: it was somewhat expected, but there "was no rule about it" and it "all depended on his dreams."

A family in need of a doctor would get together what they hoped would be a sufficient sum and send it to him with a request for his aid. The doctor did not have to accept; but if he wanted more money he would not demand it then but would wait until later on, when curing was under way. The mercenary attitude of shamans was emphasized as usual by J.A.

If a doctor did not want to cure a person until all his money was gone, he'd let him stay sick. If he didn't get enough money he'd let the patient die.

[754] A bad doctor might shoot a white feather into you; only he could remove it. An evil chief would pay a doctor to affect an enemy with sickness which he would not cure.[84] "When a tiya was jealous he had a doctor do his killing for him. Any doctor could work for any tiya."

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[84]See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

757 Several anecdotes of individual sickness were related by J.A.

When X. was a little girl, she "had fits." A Choinimni doctor, No´hono, was paid $5.00 for cutting her at the forehead and the back of the neck, but no cure was affected. Another doctor, Kaosus, did the same thing; he extracted some intrusive hair from the back of the child's neck. She was cured.

[753] Another little girl "had fits" which were attributed to an evil man. This man, who had come to shear sheep, asked the child's father for $20.00, an amount the father did not have as he had just bought a horse. Soon after that the little girl "had a fit every time she saw that man" [a possible case of rape?]. Nohono, the Choinimni shaman, was called to cure this case also.

W.At.'s little girl "had fits" every night and morning. Her dead twin sister, Sikiyat, kept calling her. When Koyiyi had these spells she kept turning her head and looking back over her shoulder for her sister. They took her to another Choinimni doctor, Sumtiwɨs (Bob of Bobtown) who gave the foregoing diagnosis; however, he said if "he got that spirit [the dead sister's] out of the child she would die." J.A. and others were skeptical of this excuse. J.A. told the girl's mother to make her smell romero (rosemary), which was "used by the padres and smells good," when she had these attacks. When Koyiyi "starts to die" lumps form between her eyebrows, but disappear when she "comes to life." Recently the child fell in a pond, but recovered herself. [Epilepsy?]

756 J.A. knew of one woman doctor, Suko´tɨts,
683 who lived down at Tule River Reservation.[87] She was not a berdache, for she had a son who, himself a doctor, was eventually killed for malpractice. J.A. has seen her cure.

[754] A black scorpion bit Tsomoi´yot (J.A.'s
755 cousin) on her foot; it had been sent by a
752 Wukchumni doctor. Sukotɨts was called. She
756 sat down before the patient and talked to her dream helper who told her the cause of the trouble. (There was no dancing.) She sang a song:

tuna´ha la na we·ta´
pine tree on I wainus[88]

hiye´wuka na
where-I-am I

we·ta´ puku´lu na
wainus wainus [Tachi form] I

At the end of the song she gestured up toward the pine ridges of the hills and then down to

[87] This is the woman known as Poi´´in or Ho´´iyon to other informants.

[88] Wainus was a supernatural serpent (?) who lived underground; he was a powerful dream helper. See Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths.

755 the ground toward wainus. She cut and sucked
752 out the scorpion poison. But she herself was
poisoned by it: she lived a little while after
756 making the cure, then "turned yellow all over
and died."

J.A. heard her sing the song many times; usually it varied somewhat but its essence re-
756 mained the same. Her talismans of supernatural power were an eagle's head, a weasel skin, the heads of a baby coyote, a prairie falcon, and a Cooper's [?] hawk. She wore many beads strung on eagle-down cord (pisesan) about her neck and wrists. The coyote's head hung on one of these. It "caught the sickness" which then would be squeezed off its nose onto a tray for exhibition. When curing, she sat in front of her patient and held onto his head, meanwhile calling on her dream helpers. She "went around to fast and dream just like a man."

755 Once J.A. was very sick with chills. Two beautiful girls with flowers in their hair came and stood at each side of her feet. They told her to ask God what she should do. Soon a little baby came and sat near her; it was sucking its fingers; she could hear it crawling about in the leaves. No one came to help her. Finally she made her way over to Poso'o's (Bob Bautista's) house. He cut her on the back of the neck and at each temple and sucked. She got better soon. A girl there cooked some atole [flour and water] for her which she ate.

When she was a young woman, J.A. had measles, "she nearly died." Her mother sent for Sapagai who came and brushed her off with his hand feathers. The sickness, which "looked like insects," he squeezed off the feathers. He cut and sucked at the top of the sternum. She recovered soon after.

756 Sumtiw:s (Bob of Bobtown) and Tutya (Pony Dick Watun) are the only doctors left (1929). The former diagnoses by holding both wrists of the patient. About a year ago J.A. suffered from bad headaches; she went up to Sumtiw:s. He cut over the inner extremity of each eyebrow and sucked out blood and a little white pointed object from each incision.

Poisoning

278 Another kind of injury caused by doctors is that called poisoning, but neither it nor
753 the shamans using it are distinguished by any special term. The poison itself is called añta-wa, from the same word root as shaman (añtu). Poisoning is thought to operate by means of actual contact with poisonous substances which may be put on any object which the victim is likely to touch, or the poison may be administered in food. Yet it is thought to be invisible. Symptoms of poisoning are severe swelling of parts (thought to have been touched by the poison) and the vomiting of blood. J.A. gave

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 419] Chunut

796 At the end of the singing and dancing[9] people who had long illnesses would be brought
[755] in to be cured. The shaman brushed off the patient with a flipping motion of his hand feathers. Neither doctor nor patients ate any meat for six days after this performance.[101]

765 The Huhuna Dance, which in the foothills is part of the annual mourning celebration but may also occur as a discrete entertainment, was known in the lake region only as an adjunct to the mourning ceremonies. J.A. recalls a performance at Tule River Reservation some twenty years ago, and another in Tachi territory when she was a little girl. Her failure to give a specific account of this for the Chunut fits
[184] with the Tachi (M.G.) statement that the Choinuk, Telamni, and northerners (Hoshima) lacked the dance. For its description see "Mourning Ceremony."

796 Guksai is a name mistakenly applied to Huhuna by some informants. J.A. clearly distinguished between the two and, indeed, was the one person who had seen and knew exactly who Guksai was. She saw this dancer at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley; his performance followed immediately upon Huhuna's.

This man was a doctor. His tribal affiliation was not known to J.A., who thinks he
[756] might have been Choinimni. He was dressed, not in Huhuna's long feather robe, but in the usual doctor's regalia: feather headdress (sema and ču), feather strand skirt, white paint (ho´šot) in streaks on his body but none on his face; he carried a bone whistle. He danced about by himself, then he would sit down for a while and sing to an accompaniment: Huhuna never sang. Guksai could not find money. But like Huhuna, he was "killed" by a doctor. In this instance it was a shaman named Manuelo (otherwise unknown to J.A.) who functioned. While Guksai was unconscious, the spectators wept but ceased as soon as he was revived.

J.A. said that Guksai was never seen "down this way" (in the valley or lake region); she did not know the subject of his songs. Both Huhuna and Guksai performed solely for the purpose of making money; the spectators wanted it because "it made the people giving the fandango [mourning ceremony] cry."

Pleasure dances (ha´tim) were frequently
536 held. A chief might give such little partres
517 (again referred to as lonu´witi) at his house.
574 His wife and female relatives prepared quantities of food, and all the guests brought food contributions for which they were paid. The guests were "anybody" of any moiety, everybody from the village went, or any visitor from near-by villages. This was "just for a good time," and neither singers nor dancers were
[534] paid. The singers used the clapper accompaniment for such profane affairs. The songs "did

[101] No payment was mentioned in connection with this affair, and my neglect to ask about it is a serious omission.

9 [i.e., of the seed-growing dance of the Chunut

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 102a] Wukchumni

844 The place of birth was in the dwelling, according to M.P., but M.L, older and more knowledgeable in aboriginal ways, insisted that [343] delivery took place in a private hut. If the separate hemispherical structure were not erected for her by her husband, she would clear out her storehouse and use it. The baking pit for use after delivery was outside the dwelling, and it may be this, rather than delivery itself, which M.L. had in mind.

At the onset of birth pains the woman got her mother or whichever female relative was to help her. They heated water. Meanwhile the husband was preparing coals, hot stones, and bark to be used in the heated pit, although he did not go near his wife during delivery. No 845 men were ever present, unless a shaman was 755 called in a case of seriously difficult parturition. A shaman gave a drink of pulverized [237] bear's claws to aid the birth. The shaman Haičača had a long bear claw to help women in parturition. He rubbed his hands on it, then on the patient. Then he blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Squatting before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come" (M.P.). But often a woman had some method of her own. M.L. had a little supernatural power; Quail was her dream helper. When aiding her daughter in labor, she called on Quail to help. Immediately some quail calls sounded near by, či ''up, či ''up, či ''up: "the baby heard them and came right out."

[787] The maternal grandmother of J.P. dreamed of a roadrunner who told her how to help women in labor. Although she was not a doctor -- "this was just her dream" -- she aided other women with her knowledge.

844 A hollow was made in the floor to one side of the fire pit. It was filled with sand or dry earth and some pieces of old tule mats laid over it. The mother squatted at its edge and pulled on two stakes driven into the ground. (These were not digging sticks.) The assistant stood behind her, pressed her head, her back, her abdomen, always with downward pressing movements. If labor were prolonged, the parturient would get up and walk about between spasms.

As the infant emerged, the assistant caught it off the mats beneath the mother, easing it onto some old deerskins. Pinching the cord about two inches from the infant's [412] body, she cut it with a cane knife and tied the stump with a piece of fine sinew. The cord and afterbirth were taken to the river and fastened to a stake so they could not float away: this prevented the child from ever being sick at its stomach (M.L.). The afterbirth was thrown in the river so the baby would never be sick, according to M.P., who added that often a girl's,

757 cutting. "The chills and fever came right out of the top of the head" (M.P.).

755 If a person met a ghost (tawa´tsa) after dark it might cause the intrusion of such objects as fingernails, hair, or clots of blood. These had to be sucked out from a cut. (See Anecdote 8 below.)

If a woman had an intimate man friend who died, he might come back and have intercourse with her. An orgasm during sleep was attributed to this. But a severe headache was believed to result, which had to be sucked out through the top of the head by a professional shaman.

754 Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans who were thought to "shoot" the intrusive object in order to be called to treat the case and so receive payment. (See Anecdotes.)

[827] J.B. said all sicknesses with pain were caused by shamans. Pain was called ho´ba (the word also for blood). Shamans shot pains into the lumbar region of woman's backs.

756 When curing, shamans wore the same dress regalia as when dancing: feather headdress, 535 weasel-skin wristlets,[254] down-strand skirt, 292 feather bunches hanging from the wrists, ear plugs, and other ornaments. Not every shaman 237 owned such a complete outfit: the most important item, after the feather hand bunch which after all was an implement of work, was the feather hat. Any man who was going to do something special in a ceremonial way would buy or borrow one of these, whether he was a shaman or not.

755 Cases of slight sickness did not call for singing or dancing. The doctor pressed his patient all over, asked for symptoms from both patient and attending relatives, and also asked about the patient's recent activities in order to explore the possibility of the sick man's having had some weird experience (such as meeting a ghost) to which the illness was attributable. Then he smoked, communed with his helper, and proceeded with whatever treatment he deemed best. A more stubborn case would call for singing and dancing. This was done in the house beside the patient and in the presence of the family. As the shaman danced he repeated aloud what his supernatural advisor was telling him. (But he was not possessed; it was not the helper's voice or words, but his own.) If the doctor "wanted to make a show," he would have the patient removed to the public fire where people assembled to watch. During this performance the shaman might hire a singer 755 to accompany him and a winatum to assist him. It was the privilege of anyone who wished or 522 dared to give a clowning pantomime of the shaman's activities, "but it was usually a

[826] [435]

[254] These protected the vulnerable seat of supernatural power in the wrists. M.L. said a shaman would pay one hista (about 25 cents) for a weasel (ahe'ot) skin.

755
[522] Coyote man" [i.e., of Coyote lineage] who did so (S.G.).

The methods used by the shaman Haičača were offered by J.P. and M.P. as examples of the customary curing procedure. (See also Anecdote 10 below.)

[237] Haičača had dreamed of Falcon (lɪmɪk). He then bought a falcon head from someone, skinned it, leaving the beak intact, and filled the skin with fine tule shreds. He hung beads on threads run through its nostrils, and wrapped the whole thing in many strands of beads. These were never removed even when he was curing. When curing, Haičača dipped the falcon head in water and ran his hands over it. Then he laid it down and rubbed his hands over his patient. This was used on one case, then was useless until he dreamed of Falcon again.

He had an eagle head similarly prepared
[237] with which he cured J.P.'s back.

He had a long bear claw (Bear was his
755 family totem), which he used to cure a woman in labor. It was used like the falcon head. He
845 also blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Kneeling before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come."

755 Haičača did not sing when curing: he conversed prayerfully with his supernatural helpers (ainɪč) and to Water which was helping him. Since the water he used was obtained at Gutsnumi, he addressed it as "Gutsnum." Water was
[776 a powerful helper. At Gutsnumi there was an
823] underwater person who was adverse to strangers swimming there and pulled them under. Like eagle down, Water was a general assistant in supernatural matters and to dream of it was a propitious indication of its willingness to help one, yet it was not a tutelary in quite the same sense, not so personified perhaps, as a flesh-and-blood creature like Cougar, Eagle, Owl, etc.

Miscellaneous Powers

754 Contagious magic.--While the practice of contagious magic was not developed, it was clearly recognized, and Wukchumni took pre-
789 cautions against leaving their hair, saliva, discarded clothing, etc., available to malicious shamans. S.G. denied the practice to the Wukchumni, saying that they left their hair and soiled clothing wherever they wished; he attributed the evil to "southerners." It is difficult in cases described, to distinguish between this idea and that of poisoning, and I am not sure that a difference exists, save that in poisoning an actual contact between the person and the poisoned object seems to be necessary. In either event some very personal possession of the intended victim, such as hair combings, or a piece of dress, is treated with some virulent material or "poison." Whether the

756 7. J.B. accused Čokonɨk, a Choinimni
754 shaman of great power, of making his son ill.[261] "He was a big doctor. He thought I had lots of money so he made my boy sick. He made him sick and then cured him." Čokonɨk used the sucking method; he exhibited a fingernail as the intrusive cause. During the treatment he talked to Owl, asking that tutelary to help him and telling Owl what he was going to do. He also rubbed the patient with a talisman (ainɨč). He was well paid with money and baskets.

755 8. M.P. lived with her maternal grandmother after her own mother died. Both women mourned deeply for this death. M.P. became very ill from prolonged crying and fasting. She developed a chronic headache and could not see. Her uncle called a shaman. When he
[304] arrived, she was in a stupor. He cut her between the eyebrows,[262] at the back of the neck, and on the left breast. He sucked and extracted a lot of her own mother's hair from these wounds. The hair he wrapped around an eagle feather and then burned the whole thing. He explained that her mother had been trying to take her [to the afterworld], that the grandmother's continuous crying for her dead daughter had thus brought her back. Then M.P. was "able to get right up and eat."

[778] 9. M.P. had a headache on another occasion. The shaman who treated her [Haičača] had an owl head and a falcon head as talismans. He wet these in a small basket of water from Gutsnumi, which he kept calling on for help. He pressed the wet objects on her head and blew on it twice. Then he shook her head gently but rapidly back and forth. Then he cut between her eyes and sucked out "a little plain blood" which he burned.

756 10. The following affairs of Haičača were recounted by his niece, M.P.

Haičača (Jim Hangton) was one of M.P.'s maternal uncles. He became a shaman although his father was not one: Bear was their family totem. When he was young he did not eat any meat; he spent most of his time outdoors, away from the village, hunting. What game he brought home his grandmother skinned and cooked. The lad became hungry and asked for some meat, but his grandfather told him "not to look at meat, to just eat some acorn mush and go to bed." Haičača did as he was told.

During the night the old man poked the boy and his four brothers with a long pole, telling them to get up and go swimming as it was nearly morning. Sometimes he made them go in the middle of the night.[263] "The boys got awful tired of this."

756 Finally one night Haičača dreamed an enormous frog came to him. The frog said,
787 "Hello, napas [brother's son, w.s.]. I will be your guiya [paternal aunt]. I will help you when you need me." The next morning the boy told the grandfather his dream. He was sent to swim and then to hunt until the afternoon. When he came home, his grandmother gave him a little

[261] J.A., a Chunut informant, also accused Čokonɨk of malpractice (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 395).

[262] The scars are visible, as they are on other informants who have been subjected to this method of curing.

[263] Note that all the boys were subjected to the rigorous night bathing but only one became a shaman.

● 755 Kawu was H.L.'s father and mother's cousin of M.P.; he was a Yauelmani. He was ill for a very long time, and a shaman who diagnosed his case said "that he had a water snake in his stomach that kept trying to get out through his navel." But the shaman was afraid to cut deep enough to suck it out. Finally Kawu went up Kern River to a big waterfall called Kono'ı lkın. Fish was his poša so he called on the fish to help him. He dived into a deep pool below the fall. While he was under the water a rainbow trout (epıs) went down into his stomach. When Kawu returned home, he lay down outside his house and told his wife to tell everyone in the village to come near. This was done. Then his wife called to the fish, and it popped out of his mouth. Then Kawu sat up and told his friend, Noho'no, to cut the fish open and see what was in it. Inside the fish was a bloody water snake. "Kawu got well right away."

A little later on Kawu was bitten on the ankle by a rattlesnake. The snake fell over, stunned, on the ground. Said Kawu to the snake, "Why do you bite me? Do you want to kill me?" Then he ran to the river and, calling on his poša [Fish], jumped in. Immediately many trout came, sucked his wound, and saved him. The water was thick with fish. "He went home and sent everybody down to gig them."[265]

787 12. If an undesirable dream came to a person, he was privileged to ignore it. J.P. dreamed about an owl which told him he was going to be a curing doctor. But as J.P. did not want to be a doctor, "he didn't pay any attention to it."

13. Similarly J.P. rejected offers of Rattlesnake to make him a Rattlesnake shaman.

J.P.'s grandfather was a Rattlesnake [756] shaman, and this reptile was the family totem. "The snakes would only go to somebody whose ancestors were Rattlesnake people." J.P. dreamed of rattlesnakes many times. People wanted him to participate in the annual Rattlesnake Ritual that was held to prevent people from being bitten. He dreamed a rattlesnake came right up to his feet. It said to him, "When are you going to start that dancing?" And J.P. replied, "I am not going to start that dancing. I'm not going to handle you."

14. M.L. said that when she was young she dreamed about her future husband. Later she dreamed she was talking to her children and, as they grew up, this helped her to talk with and advise them. She added that in old times, when [178 262] the meat tabu was more strictly observed, an ill person would dream of something that would help him and he would begin to feel better. "That doesn't happen any more because people eat too much meat and grease."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

789 A woman going seed-gathering in the spring 825 and summer would smear her forearms and legs

[825] [265] There are a few other instances of a man's indifference to the killing or eating of his poša although he would not do either himself. The attitude of informants was that "it didn't matter," particularly if the animal involved was a common food (cf. Mishahai and the winatum's pigeon booth, Pt. II).

789 825 with tobacco as rattlesnakes were said to abhor the smell and would go away. Shiny ornaments, [301] such as an abalone-shell pendant, were worn in the fields in spring as they would startle the snakes and make them rattle.

789 But such ornaments were dangerous to wear at other seasons because they attracted thunder 301 [lightning]. S.G. related the following as an illustration.
821

When S.G. was about fifteen, his father remarried. The new wife had a small boy whom the father hated. The man put an abalone pendant (tu´ta) on the child and told him to go sit under a certain tree. Soon the lightning struck the youngster and his dog. S.G. was not far away, and carried the burned child home. This happened at Pupunao.

To wear an abalone ornament on any cloudy day would invite a thunderstorm, according to M.P.; M.L. said the ornaments offended Thunder, "made him get mad."

755 A black substance from underground (bitumen?) was heated on a rock, then applied to the [823] top of the head to rid one of bad dreams caused by ghosts.

825 Goldfinches (soi´soi) sat out in the brush and whistled to people when it was time for them to gather blackberries. M.L. knew of no other bird or animal who did such a thing.

776 At Gutsnumi, in the bottom of the swimming pool, lived an old woman named Moča´ta who pounded acorns all day long. If a stranger went to swim there, she would grab his feet and pull him down to her house. (Not long ago a flood came bringing quantities of sand which spoiled the pool as a swimming place.)

552 A railroad train is called hu´da (lit., it cries) in reference to its whistle.

PLEASURE DANCES

796 Evenings spent in pleasure with professional entertainment occurred not more than once a month in any one village, as there was so much intertribal and intervillage visiting for all such festivities. The kind of dances that were given by the shamans depended upon the chief's choice. His winatum would tell the shamans what to dance. Besides the regular schedule of [535] dances -- Bear Dance, Snake Ritual, Beaver Dance, etc. -- there was the dance for entertainment called the kam or watiyod performed by shamans all the year round.

Kam

536 The kam was one of a few dances performed purely for the entertainment of spectators. Whether the dance was always the same, i.e., had specific songs and steps which differenti-

796 or animal, it would become their helper in time
276 of need. Then each boy and girl was given a
[787] drink of the liquid which was dipped up in the individual drinking baskets. M.P. thought the quantity was about one to two cupfuls; sometimes a second dose had to be given if the initial amount was not effective. The drinkers, wrapped in blankets, remained near the central fire as a preventive of chill, an effect of the narcotic which was recognized as dangerous. As each one became unconscious, he was carried into a shelter where his women attendants took charge. One held his head in her lap, the other his feet, and both gently rocked the child and sang as he slept. The mother and father stood by watching; they could not be present if they had eaten meat. The chief function of the attendants was to guard against flight: "sometimes a child would rise right up in fright and rush out never to be seen again" (M.P.). If this happened the leaders of the ritual were held to blame for carelessness. Such flights usually occurred in the morning following the drinking, as a heavy coma set in during the first twelve to eighteen hours. Sometimes a light gruel was given the drinkers
796 as they stirred and became active. About the
276 time they were expected to awake several women
533 would sing gentle "waking" songs. M.L.'s mother sang on such occasions though M.L. could give no reason other than that she often sang, danced, etc., in public performances. The songs were simple, saying "You drank tañai, you should wake up," or "Get up and drink more tañai" (but more jimsonweed was never administered then). One such song was:

upu´tumi· uka´naka tañá´ya lu´lhe' lula´lhe'
Arise. Drink tañai. Walk! Walk!

796 As the drinkers became active they were
276 able to see obscure causes of illness. A sick
● 755 person would come, give the drinker a feather bunch, and his sickness, which, it was said, usually appeared as swarms of insects to the intoxicant, would be brushed off. As these microcosms were brushed into a fire they made a popping noise audible only to the drinker. The person was invariably cured: "even cancer was cured this way" (M.P.).

796 As an example of typical behavior M.L.
276 said a drinker, seeing S.G. throw a burden-
787 strap toward his mother, immediately brushed her off, believing that it was a snake trying to sicken her in some way. M.L.'s first husband took tañai and saw "the railroad before it came; he saw something moving around without any horses to pull it; it frightened him so he ran around wild."

If occult disclosures concerning the evil
[754] behavior of certain shamans came to a drinker, he confided this to his parents (provided they had eaten no meat) and to his attendants. What was done with such information was not stated.

756 prayed to and dreamed about. Tobacco (šo´gon)
787 was eaten with lime and vomited to stimulate
276 dreaming. Anyone could do this who wanted to;
[237] P.D.W. denied ever using tobacco this way, a denial which seemed doubtful. Eagle down was scattered at sacred moments at certain springs, probably when prayers were being made.[23]

756 Doctors cut and sucked when curing. If the patient did not improve, the practitioner danced, called on his dream helper (anatsiwal), and dreamed for further power. Sickness was
[754] caused by intrusion; a bad shaman could send something into one; this might be an insect, or some small object, or the "airshot" (toi´yes) which they were said to manufacture.

753 Ghosts frequently caused sickness called
● 755 hoču´nač. The spirit of some dead man would
775 catch a victim after dark and insert a long hair in his forehead. To cure this a doctor cut at the end of the nose and sucked, with long audible inhalations and rapid brief exhalations. The hair he extracted might be "as long as your arm."

A malicious ghost could even make one crazy (ale´ta), an ailment which doctors could not cure. P.D.W. said he "saw that tried once at Squaw Valley" but the attempt failed.

754 Poison (ta´wats, dead person ?) was dif-- ferentiated from airshot, but P.D.W. was "afraid of that and didn't want to talk about it." As elsewhere, the source of poisoning
[668] was attributed to southern doctors. "After that [the Ghost Dance] the Tule River doctors got mad when they got home. They danced all one night and made poison. People got sick all around."

755 An anecdote of P.D.W.'s curing was related by J.A., the Chunut, who was herself cured of headaches by another Choinimni doctor, Semti´was.

About 1927 a Choinimni woman suffered from an abdominal ailment; she dreamed she should be cut approximately over the uterus. She went home to have P.D.W. do it. When he cut and sucked, "he got out nothing but blood" [i.e., no intrusive object], and the woman has continued to grow worse. Some people, for this reason, doubt his abilities, others have faith in his power. J.A. implied, however, that P.D.W. himself claimed no special skill.

The other Choinimni doctor, Semtiwas (Bob of Bobtown), was visiting at Dunlap and could not be interviewed. In curing J.A. of headaches he sucked out a "little white pointed thing" from a cut at each eyebrow. His own daughter had a pneumonialike sickness attributed to her eating of raw, cold gooseberries shortly after giving birth to an infant.

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[23] Latta, op. cit., 38.

756 There was a doctor named Ho´datpa·na,[24]
791 who could dance and predict earthquakes. P.D.W. was living at Kulušao in 1872. He remembers the quake of that March, which preceded the Ghost Dance episode. The cause of earthquakes (pa´'an wokoi´aš, ground shake) he did not know, but thought "the old people" probably knew.

755 A peculiar method of curing is given by Mayfield. "They [the doctors] would twist together some wormwood leaves and set them afire. With the glowing end of this firebrand a strip was burned along each side of the spinal column of the patient."[25] The purpose of this treatment is not explained.

VARIOUS DANCES AND CEREMONIES

535 Pleasure dance.--A dance (he´šiš na´mit)
765 performed largely by Choinimni, Entimbich, and Wobonuch was described by J.B. He said "no one to the south had this; the Wukchumni paid them when they went down there as they had none of their own," i.e., hešiš namit dancers. It was performed after the washing rite at a mourning ceremony and at no other time.

The dance group was composed of four to six youths and two singers. Often two or three girls would take part. Besides the usual dance regalia the men wore quivers on their right shoulders and held bows in their hands. The women held a short stick (či´wit) between their hands. They stood at each end of the group of men or in front of them and swayed back and forth while the men engaged in a continuous trembling. The singers used clapper accompaniment.

The participants whom J.B. recalls were all Choinimni, he thinks. The dancers were Wa´tun (P.D.W., Pony Dick Watun), Ko´lon, and Si´nči; the singers were Modu´ča and Wo´kuč. J.B. did not know the totem or occupation of any of these save P.D.W., who "was a winatum and doctor."

796 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai)
276 was taken about March. Both men and women used it, women particularly if they were ill from some unknown cause. Shamans took it but, like others, only in the spring. It could be taken each year if one wished.

The participant ate no meat for six days, and then ate nothing at all for two more. But
[787] P.D.W. said even so, the jimsonweed should be dreamed about and talked to before one dared to take it. The night before the drinking the participants went out alone and prayed saying, "Tanai, you're going to doctor me. I don't like to be this way."

[24] A metathesis of Hopodno's name? Hopodno, in 1870, went as far north as Kings River on his weather-predicting tour (see Powers, Tribes of California, 372). The earthquake of 1872 may in some way be associated in P.D.W.'s early memories.

[25] Latta, op. cit., 40.

756 Of doctors, he said that in earlier times
754 no doctor was bad because he feared "that the people would get mad and kill him" [the statement itself indicates that there were evil doctors and that they were killed]. A bad doctor "had all kinds of poison; if he got mad he sent this at you." Such projection of poison could kill trees: a shaman would hit one and the following year it would be seared and dead.

A good doctor did not take money unless he was sure of curing his patient. If he was unsuccessful, he was expected to return the fee. [Naturally there must have been much difficulty in defining a cure in many types of sickness.]

796 A shaman's display dance was usually done
756 outside. If such a performance were scheduled, and it rained, the shaman took one or two singers and went into a dwelling house (samıs), not into the sweat house (mos). As many spectators as could crowded in to watch him. This dance was probably comparable to the kam: B.W. could neither name nor describe it.

There was a prophetic and curing dance called mi´yın wa´tiyı to´se ("the to-tell dance") performed by several doctors. Sometimes as many as five doctors participated at once. People assembled at a big fire in the early evening. The doctors were there with their singers and winatums. Persons already ill were brought in and disposed near the fire. The doctors danced while the singers sang. Then they told who was going to be sick. They had a big basket of water [each had?] in which they dipped their hand feathers (wača´m), and brushed off the patients and the "patients-elect." "They blew the sickness away before it came." Onlookers would say, "Wihe´lıt a´mam hača´kaıč" ("doctoring-process him [does] good"). "A big doctor knew everything, especially about sickness that was far away. If we had those doctors now they could stop this flu [epidemic] we've been having."

● 755 The doctoring activities of the Choinimni, P.D.W., were witnessed and experienced by B.W. While doctoring B.W., P.D.W. sat in front of him. He could see the sickness. He sang:

oyo´wi ki·ka
ha´na·na·
ṭe´pi ni´hi ti (ṭıpni)

(B.W. could not translate it; thought it meant he was asking ṭıpni to help him.) P.D.W. sang this over continuously before and while he was cutting at painful spots. "A doctor could do
[177] nothing without singing to his tıpni." The in-
[237] cisions were made with a piece of glass and the "sickness" sucked out. P.D.W.'s curing outfit consisted of the glass, magpie and owl feathers, and a weasel [?] head ornamented with beads. The day following this treatment B.W. "got up and walked all around" [cured].

755 Another doctor, "Dr. Baldy," a Gashowu, cut and sucked the chest of a baby who had pneumonia: "the white doctor had given it up." The next morning the baby was improved and recovered.

Bear Shamans

756 789 [184] Bear shamans, according to B.W., did not have anything to do with the acorn crop, as in the Central Foothills, but were persons who had dream power from Bear and used it for display and intimidation of others.

His brother (Nipeč), Te´wus (Sam Smith) was a bear man and doctor. "He danced any time for show and to get money." The men would walk somewhere at dusk to visit people; on the way, when they reached a big log, Tewus would turn himself into a bear. This frightened B.W. very much. At the display dances which Tewus gave he would dance in the fire without being burned. Sometimes one or two bears appeared and danced with him.

Once when Tewus was walking up a very steep hill toward a mining shaft, a huge boulder from above came rolling down and injured him badly. He was ill from five to six months. During that time three bears came each night to visit and to cure him. Tewus talked to them prayerfully and asked their help. He got well "because of those bears." (See the Kechayi version of this from E.M., below.)

Rain-making

756 789 B.W. said his father was a rain shaman. He would predict the weather: if he said it would rain no more for the season, people would then pay him to make it rain. However, he could make it rain for as long as he wished -- one week to a month. Then people paid him to make it stop. Women could not pound acorns when it rained, as the holes in their bedrock mortars were filled with water. He deliberately made rain to discomfit others and be paid, said B.W.

To do this, he donned the usual shamanistic regalia -- crown of feathers and feather skirt. He carried a wačam (a bunch of magpie feathers) in his hand, which he dipped into a large basket of water, sprinkling the water about. (Informant did not know if there was sprinkling in certain directions.) He "danced for three or four days, or all night." Then it rained soon. While the sprinkling was going on, B.W.'s brother sang for his father:

si li ka´na·ha· (water)
[repeated six times]

te·p·n i te'i (t·pni)

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 170 a] Kechayi

754 Theoretically, there were no "bad" doctors in the San Joaquin River region. Those who made "poison" were said to be south of Kings River.

755 Cures.--The term for sickness in general was toi´yoti·yaš he´ba (night into [?] blood). E.M. could not describe specific sicknesses and their cures. Usually the doctor cut and sucked, drawing out a pebble or "button," which was exhibited.

Once a Chukchansi woman, Sai´hu, went out to gather milkweed. Soon she got sick; her throat was sore. "That bush had made her sick." The shaman Čokon:k sucked at her clavicle and produced a worm that had come from the bush.

753 Consumption, sane´naš, was due to "not
755 growing right from the start" or, if the symptom of coughing blood was present, it was thought to be caused by a doctor. There was no cure for this "though the doctors always tried everything."

787 Dreams of the dead caused sickness.
753

769 Long ago E.M. dreamed constantly of her
755 dead mother and sister. A Kechayi doctor, Wewu´ki (Old Dick) was sent for. He was Tokelyuwich, but he could cure people of either moiety. He told everyone in the village to assemble for an all-night ceremony for the dead. With a cocoon rattle he sang for a very long time. Then he asked everyone there to tell their dreams about dead people. When it was E.M.'s turn, she told hers. He put ashes on her head, as he had done for the others, and called out the names of the dead who were bothering her. He told them to go away and never come back to bother the living. Then he blew the ashes off her head. Never again did she dream of the dead.

756 This doctor did not do any other kind of curing: "he was t:pni by dead people." Both his parents were Tokelyuwich.

Anecdotes of Supernatural Experience and Dreams

778 E.M.'s brother, Hai´ai·:č, had power from
157 Bear; he was reckless and liked to make spectacular use of it.
273

Once he had been drinking quite a bit and thought it would be funny to scare some families who were camping by the river. He ran up and danced like a bear; he pretended to jump into the fire. He ran from camp to camp, jumping into the fire at each one. He grabbed handfuls of coals and scattered them about. Fire spouted from his mouth. The people all broke camp and ran away.

787 3. The only dream of teeth which E.M. recalls was one which came to her when she was very sick and weak. At last she was able to sleep but "was bothered by dreams" when she did. She thought her teeth grew very large; they were all like tusks, they filled up her mouth and bulged out. While in this condition she noticed a buckeye tree before her. The tree "threw one of its nuts" at her, striking her between the shoulder blades. Then she woke up. Her mouth felt numb and stiff; she could hardly talk. But immediately she began to recover from her illness. She "watched for another dream but did not have any [significant ones] for a long time."

● 755 796 Group curing.--This ceremony (mai´'i kama, people dance) was usually held in the late fall (tomo´ksiu to´bx·n, winter beginning) after all the vegetable foods had been gathered and stored. The doctor who was responsible consulted with the chief (or chiefs) of the village where it was to be given and, when a time was specified, the chief's winatums went out with messages. Everyone near by came, and many people from far off [not more than one day's journey, however].

[778] The ceremony, like all others, was held outdoors: "all doctors danced outdoors so they could have more power." A fire was supplied by the chief's winatum, who assisted also in collecting payments. The doctor's winatum helped with the curing, handling of patients, and paraphernalia.[70] There was an attendant singer who used the clapper accompaniment. Persons already suffering an illness were laid near the fire, the other people sat around in a circular arrangement behind them.

The doctor did some preliminary dancing near the fire "to make his 'power' stronger." As he danced, his dream helpers spoke to him telling not only how to cure those now ill, but specifically which persons were going to be afflicted with sickness during the ensuing year.

When ready to cure, the doctor took off his vertical feather headdress (ču') and dipped it in a basket of water. He treated the sick people first. With the wet feathers he gently brushed them off, then he squeezed the "sickness" off the feathers onto a flat tray covered with sand. The doctor's winatum exhibited the "sickness," which looked like a viscous mixture of blood and albumen; then he buried it, put fresh sand on the tray, and returned. Most of the patients cured at this time were those already ill, but a patient-elect, designated by doctor's supernatural insight, was given preventive treatment in exactly the same manner. "In this way any kind of sickness could be cured except consumption."

The relatives of the afflicted persons paid the doctor for his services and the chief added a sum "for keeping his people well."

[70] P.D.W., the Choinimni, was a doctor's winatum and had helped on such occasions.

796 around" before falling unconscious. Some per-
276 sons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began
[755] to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

The effects wore off in about one week,
[262] but all participants remained on an acorn soup (limɨn) diet for twelve days.

[757] Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The chief set the date for this ceremony
[624] (luni´ša) twelve days before it was to take place. His winatum went around to announce it, particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (gi·'i) which, for the Kechayi, was always the
[616] Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were gi·'i for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. Every morning and evening the mourners went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (ta´owɨč ano´ša) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna [guksai], Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Gugu´sia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character [Gugusia] was
[237] dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

He came into the dance space, circled
769 about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As
789 Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the prostrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čuku´ya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M.
769 could not or would not describe this coherently.
756 The reticence may have been due to the fact

754 Subsequent to his death N.W. bore three offspring all of whom lived.

These children, at the time Xatali killed them, were from a few months to a few years old. He made them ill by shooting an intrusive object; then he would attempt to cure them, but would fail. "Every time he would pay for the child's death." [Pay or merely return his fee?] One of the children, a little girl about five years old, whom Xatali could not cure, they took to Mota (Frank Smith) at Friant (see below, anecdote 6).

753 The following accounts of sickness were given by N.W.

Dead persons often caused illness by touching a living one. The shade or spirit was usually that of one who had been emotionally close, either an immediate relative, lover, or past enemy: "Maybe you think angrily about someone, then he comes."

1. N.W. had a son at Sherman High School. He died there (presumably from an operation). Once N.W. was sitting close to an axe the boy had used. He touched her hand which was "all cold feeling." Her shoulder swelled. She had a white doctor cut it and at once it got well. The scar is about three inches long.

754 The usual cause of sickness was an intrusive object shot by a malicious shaman. The object might be bugs, snakes, squirrel's fur, anything, "just so it's something to make you sick; maybe rocks, bones." However, some objects caused a more serious illness than others.

754 2. N.W. herself was made sick by her
755 father-in-law, Xatali, who shot a cougar's hair into her jaw. "She hadn't given him any presents" [hence the sickness]. Her sister went after the shaman. He came and made five cuts under her chin. He sucked out a lump of blood: "It felt just like fire when it came out." The clot he held in his hand and, after washing it a little, showed a cougar hair, about an inch long and stiff, sticking out of it. The blood was darkish, black; it had collected around the intrusive hair. In about two days N.W. was well. The five scars remain: "Sometimes you had to make lots of cuts, till you get the right place, till you find the hair." N.W. paid Xatali $5.00. Then he went off.

3. Xatali shot a tree bug ("one which eats trees") into the stomach of a woman; this came out on her back causing a lump about one and a half inches across "just like cancer." She was sick for a year. Her family had not sufficient money to pay the doctor to cure her. When at last they had money and Xatali tried to help her, it was too late: "the bug had eaten her inside." They then got another shaman (name unknown) who came a long distance. The patient was laid outdoors. The shaman, while trying to cure her, threw water at the sun, which created a rainbow. He waved an animal

754 tail at the sun, at the same time laying an-
755 other animal [skin ?] on the woman's chest. The animal was probably the same species as his supernatural helper. But the attempt was fruitless, and eventually the old woman died.

4. Once, while a woman was cleaning out a spring, Xatali shot her in the leg with sand. She cried out in pain (it hurts when the intrusive object strikes) and fell in the spring, unable to help herself out. People came and lifted her out. They got Xatali, who cured her right there, laughing as he did so. She had a bump about the size of one's fist under her knee. Xatali cut it with an obsidian blade three times. At first he got no sand, then he got a little, then all of it. When the blood came out smooth, free of lumps and sand, he knew it was all out. He told the woman she would recover quickly; she did, and was well thereafter. She paid him $6.00.

5. A certain old woman refused to give Xatali food, whereupon he "shot" her near the navel with a lump of blood. To do this, he sent his wife home and himself waited till the old woman went out toward the spring for water. Then he quickly went home; no one had seen him.

Soon the old woman's husband came to Xatali, who asked the man what was the matter. He said his wife was sick. Xatali laughed and accepted $2.00 from the man, saying that he would come in the afternoon and "to have lots of dinner ready." "Then everyone knew he did it."

755 When the time came for the curing, Xatali told N.W. not to go up there to see it for she had an infant [or was pregnant ?]. However, her parents told her she might go, which she did. Xatali was angry when she arrived and made her sit on a certain rock "so the blood wouldn't hit her when it came out." All other spectators he made stand in a circle around the patient.

The woman was entirely helpless, so her two sisters lifted her up to make her look toward the sun. It was very hot; nevertheless she must look at the sun. Xatali talked to the sun [informant could not say in what manner] and, each time he sucked the patient, he stood up and threw water at the sun. He cut the patient two or three times in the palm of the hand: the blood streamed out. Then he sucked it and got the blood which was making her sick. He got nothing but blood, which he continually spat out. The woman felt prickly pains all over her, and wherever she said she had a pain, Xatali cut and sucked. She had a headache, so he cut her on the nose bridge. However, while he was cutting her, the pain ceased and she fell asleep, and she began to get better. About
[147] a week later she was able to resume work, and in about two weeks the numerous cuts were entirely healed. (This woman is Mary See, now about eighty-five years old. She lives at Picayune and occasionally goes to church.

6. When Xatali failed to cure N.W.'s little girl, they took her to Mota (Frank Smith) at Friant. He was able to suck blood without cutting. Mota sucked her nose, fingertips, and toes. But she could not be cured: "all her blood got white." The family stayed there

755 about two weeks, then took the child home. Although N.W. wanted to pay Mota $20.00 for his services, he refused to take it because he had failed.

J.R.'s only statement concerning curing was as follows. A doctor sucks out blood, or just goes through the motions without drawing blood. He looks at the sun. He finds out what is in the patient's body, causing the illness, then announces this [publicly ?]. He was paid about $20.00.

754 When sickness resulted in death for several occupants of a house, said N.W., it was be-
768 lieved that a shaman "had put something there to kill them." Thereupon the survivors moved out, and others, even people from other communities, were warned not to enter it. The house was not destroyed, nor did neighbors move away. The informant did not know what was the nature of the destructive force about the house, only that the shaman "would have said some words." Before actually moving, the family would pay the shaman to remove the spell but, if he hated them, he would not do so. If the family themselves failed, no one else would attempt to purify the house. A family would not move, however, until several in it had died under suspicious circumstances; they waited until only one or two were left. The refugees would then live with relatives or friends until they could erect or secure a new house.

754 Once a shaman sickened this entire community [Picayune ?]. He set up a stick on the top of a near-by hill and talked to it. He wanted everyone to be sick, which they were. The stricken people pooled their money and asked him to remove the stick. No one dared approach the stick or even look at it. That shaman received beads, baskets, and rabbitskin blankets: he took away the stick.[143]

756 Payment was made to a doctor at the time he was asked to attend a case: "If you didn't pay, they wouldn't come to make you well." Some doctors, more scrupulous than others, returned all or part of the payment if their efforts failed. But some would keep it -- "just like white doctors do when their patients die." Some shamans deliberately caused sickness, killed others by means of their power; those who did not were "good" doctors.

Curing Shamans

According to N.W. there were but two types of shamans recognized by the Chukchansi, curing
[791] shamans and rain shamans. The curing shamans were divided into two classes, those who could suck out blood and the accompanying cause of

[143] The shaman's name was not known. The event occurred when only a few whites were in the neighborhood: the Ecker family was at Coarse Gold, but not the Krohns.

W Y 844 waist and over the abdomen, and gave her a cup of hot medicine made by boiling kičena´oša[170] in water.

W Y 845 755 In case of difficult birth a shaman was called. He talked to his supernatural helper, pressed his patient's belly, rubbed it with his talisman and blew on it. No singing, dancing, cutting, or sucking was done. Usually a woman called on her own supernatural helper on such occasions: it was chiefly for such purposes that women sought power. Informant D. referred to the Wukchumni M.L.'s power in aiding childbirths.

W Y 844 The shaman was the only man present. The husband, at the time of delivery, moved out to sleep at the sweat house and have his meals with some relatives until his wife had her cleansing ritual. Some men observed a meat tabu during this time.

At the birth of the child the midwife cut its cord (dos) with a section of split cane (kadk:d) and tied the stump with milkweed string. The afterbirth was buried; it was never put in water or in an anthill.[171] The baby was bathed at once in warm water. It was then wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and bound to a forked-stick cradle (akh: ´l:č). The use of a soft mattress-cradle was denied by D., as was the use of shredded bark, moss, or any other type of diaper.

W Y [853]

W Y 846 [856] [777] [237] The navel stump came off in three to six (theoretically six) days. It was put in a bead-decorated skin case and hung on the cradle hood for the infant to play with. If the stump were not kept, the baby would crawl around on the ground searching for it and would never learn to walk. It was preserved throughout life "for good luck."

A hot bed of stones and ashes had been prepared for the mother in her own house and on this she lay, covered with deer and rabbitskin blankets for six days. She lay on her back (D.). Each day, either in the morning or evening, she steamed the vaginal tract. Brake fern (to'o´di) was boiled in a big basket of water. The woman sat on the edge of a log, or on a stick resting between two forked stakes, with the steaming basket between her legs. She covered herself and the basket with deer and rabbitskin blankets, and remained until the steam was exhausted. The process of steaming was called te''ena´ošita, and was not used for any other purpose by anyone (D.).

W Y [824]

For six days, while on the hot pit, the mother drank copiously of hot water and acorn gruel, her only sustenance. After that she ate seed and acorn mushes but kept the meat tabu for three months, when her cleansing ritual took place. A woman who failed to observe the

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[170] A tall plant with purple blossoms growing abundantly in the mountains.

[171] But D. said the Yaudanchi put the afterbirth in an anthill; and had heard of others who did.

W Y 787 828 dreams that his mother-in-law is there too.[179] When people dreamed of someone in this casual manner (i.e., not a "power" dream), they might speak of it to each other, saying, for example, "I saw your brother" (uhe´wia nü u´bun:t, Waksachi).

W Y 787 778 [577] 756 Significant or "power" dreams were told only to the most intimate friends, usually only to one who was also seeking t:pni. There was no formal prohibition on disclosing them; rather it was a matter of wisdom and good taste not to talk of, and particularly not to brag of, one's supernatural power.[180] Other people were aware, of course, of a seeker's activities and knew that he was by way of being a doctor. A man was usually thirty to forty years old before he felt that he knew enough to cure as a professional shaman. It was often through the intimate acquaintance of two friends who knew of each other's supernatural experiences that a budding shaman secured his first patient.

W Y 755 756 Thus, a man who had a sick child might be too poor to pay a high fee or might be distrustful of established shamans. The intimate friend of the novice would suggest to the father that he let So-and-So try, that he knew he had much power. Or the father himself might be aware of the young man's efforts and want to try him. Whichever the circumstance, the father would approach the young man with a sum of money (less than would be offered a professional practitioner) and ask him to come try to cure his child. If the novice felt he had enough power to attempt it, he would do so; if not, there was no compulsion for him to agree. He would be likely to refuse unless confident of success, as failure always laid a doctor's motives open to suspicion, especially repeated failures. A young doctor, like an old one, was entitled to keep the fee whether the cure succeeded or not, and was often given additional presents of baskets or blankets, if successful.

However, the novice must begin sometime and, if he accepted the fee, would go and do his best. His talismans would be those indicated by his dreams, and his methods of curing would be sucking, blowing, and rubbing, as with all doctors. If the patient recovered, he was recommended to others and so little by little set up a practice, so to say. He continued his training procedure, for always he must reëmpower his used talismans, and an accumulation of power was not only desirable but indispensable when he became sufficiently successful to attract attention as a possible rival to older shamans. An initial failure to cure usually led to redoubled efforts to seek power; but

W Y [606 153]

[179] Although S.O. insisted that there was no mother-in-law tabu in his society, it is worthy of remark that he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name in spite of the fact that his genealogical memory carried over 200 names and his dreams of the woman were cordial.

[180] A story pointing a moral against bragging of one's power appears in Gayton and Newman, 37.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 241 a] Western Mono NS25

W Y [755] 756 continuing failures might dissuade the novice from pursuing a shaman's career.

An advance in the attainment of supernatural power was marked by a shaman's entrance into the Shamans' Contest, as only "big" doctors could make the airshot believed derived from the sun. A shaman with little power would fear to attempt it. Moreover, it was customary that entering shamans make and exhibit airshot to the managing winatum before the contest commenced.

W Y [754 156] Young doctors were not feared as malevolent, as were older, powerful shamans. "Bad doctoring," the sickening of others for the attainment of wealth through fees, political power, or for malicious pleasure, was thought to be a matter of personality. It was a misuse of power by the individual, and was not due to different or evil dream helpers,[181] although it was thought that assistance from several very powerful helpers such as Eagle, Cougar, Coyote, and Owl might endanger a man's good character by putting excessive power in his way. Whether a doctor was good or bad was believed to result largely from his choice of companions. There was a tendency among shamans to form cliques which became mutually antagonistic. S.O. summarized his long exposition by concluding: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. Sometimes they got mean, tried to see what they could do, and got so they thought they could do anything. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."

W Y 755 756 The procedure between patient and established doctor was much like that given above for the novice. When a person became ill, some member of the family would go after the doctor whom they had selected, taking a fee with him. More money or objects of value might be given the doctor during the course of curing. It was this practice of "bleeding" a patient's relatives that led avaricious men to the shaman's profession and, when carried too far, brought the outraged family to the conclusion that the patient was in truth the shaman's own victim. Even if death resulted, the initial fee was not returned; the doctor "usually was told to keep it." But S.O. knew of instances wherein half was returned; to obviate suspicion a conscientious doctor would want to do this.

W Y 755 [237 778] The doctor summoned would normally agree to visit the sick person, but he would proceed to curing only if he felt disposed to do so. The first thing he would try would be rubbing the patient with his talisman. Cutting (for sucking) was not thought good practice. The doctor's talisman, which might be a weasel skin, owl's head, stone, etc., was dipped in a basket of water and rubbed on parts of the patient's body. As he did this, the shaman talked to the

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[181] Cf. Chukchansi; a Chukchansi man might become the unwilling abettor of his supernatural helpers.

W Y 755 dream helper the talisman represented or to the object itself. He would blow on the affected part, such as the head or abdomen, and press the talisman against it. In so doing he would address the talisman "and tell it to tell the ill person not to be sick." This procedure did not always cure, and cutting and sucking might be resorted to. During the course of treatment a doctor would stop to smoke and also to go off to some secluded spot to commune with his helpers. By means of this supernatural information he would learn what to do, what was the cause of the sickness. He would not always tell what this was; particularly would he hesitate to disclose that some other doctor had deliberately sickened the patient. That is, he would not dare to announce whom he specifically believed to be responsible unless he felt that his own power was greater, as the accused doctor would certainly take revenge by supernatural means.

W Y 756 627 If the patient died, his relatives might doubt the sincerity of the shaman's curing efforts, particularly if the doctor previously had lost patients. "They would get mad and talk about it, saying, 'He doesn't know much,' 'He is a bad doctor,' and so on. And while they talked they'd get madder and decide to kill that doctor." Some relatives of the deceased would do this; there was no official "shaman-killer." Sometimes they would be too enraged to wait for the chief's permission to take action. Although relatives of the victim combined for revenge, it was not permissible, or even thinkable, that they should avenge themselves on any of the shaman's relatives. He alone was responsible for the offense. The action was condoned as one of public benefit, particularly if in the normal course of consultation with the chief and older men they had advised it. However, if the shaman's family doubted the justice of his punishment, they could take up his cause and a feud would result. By anecdotal evidence this was rare. A shaman's own relatives tended to ignore him when he became antisocial in behavior.

Dream Experiences

W Y 787 276 755 1. When S.O. was living at Dunlap his wife and three children were still alive. He had been ill and apathetic. He drank a little tobacco every night merely as a cleansing tonic. It caused vomiting: then he would fall asleep immediately with no thought of dreaming.

But one night two hummingbirds "came away up from the south." They addressed him: "What do you get sick for? Just a little sickness like that! I want to help you. I have come from far away. I have come to see you. You will be well in the morning. Go to the spring now and wash. We are going back now."

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S.O. woke up instantly and saw the birds as they flew off.[182] He went directly to the spring and, as he had no eagle-down cord (pisesan) with him, he dipped his hands in the water to put it on himself. While doing so he addressed the water: "M.čk.t [hummingbird][183] told me to use you. Now I will be well in the morning. I come to you. I am talking to you. Now I am all right."

He returned to the house but did not sleep: "What I dreamt was right there with me" [keeping it on his mind]. When daylight came, he ate no breakfast but told his wife and children to eat without him. Understanding, they made no comment. Then he went out into the woods and walked around until midday. Then he again addressed his dream [the hummingbirds] saying: "Now I am all right. Everything is gone." Then he came home. He ate only acorn mush that day. Thereafter he was well.

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2. According to S.O., water is a powerful curing medium. He considers it immortal "because it is everywhere and never dies." Often he has "dreamed of springs and gone to talk to them in the night." One such dream was this.

He was standing near a spring of water. The water "began to rise up as if it were going to pull me in." This S.O. regarded as a sign that the spring wanted him to use it as an ain.č (curing talisman). As soon as he awoke he went directly to a nearby spring. He said: "You help me as long as I live. If I get sick I'll use you to help me. If someone else gets sick I'll use you to cure him. I dream about you. You are mine."

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S.O. has used water in curing himself many times. He cured Sam Calhoun's wife with it, and reported the following instance.

Sometime after this Tom Tyner's baby swallowed some kind of seed. Its abdomen began to swell up. They didn't know what to do for it. Finally they sent for S.O., who was known to have a little power. When he arrived, the child was "nearly dead." The eagle-down cord which he had with him S.O. dipped in a little basket of water and rubbed over the baby's belly. This was late in the evening. The following morning the swelling had diminished and the child recovered.

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3. All dreams did not involve songs, but all curing songs were so derived. After the death of S.O.'s wife and sons he mourned continually. Nothing could console him. He didn't even think of getting dream help. He couldn't sleep.

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[182] This was one of the many occasions on which, regrettably, I did not ask S.O. if he had yet lost his sight.

[183] Untranslatable; refers to hummingbird but is not the usual term. It may be one of the "old time" mythical names, encountered in myths. S.O. could not explain its use.

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W Y 753 The symptoms resulting from intrusions and poisoning are impossible to distinguish, although S.O. tried to categorize them. Intrusion caused delirium, "made the patient grab around." The intruding object, which might be "anything," but usually proved to be such things as fingernails, the hair of a dead person, sand, or insects, was thought to enter into the blood and lodge between the eyebrows. W Y [755] Intrusive objects were always projected by a shaman. If not removed, they proved fatal. The technique for removal was cutting and sucking. The irritant was always exhibited by the doctor (or by his winctum) and destroyed by fire or burial. The cure was immediately effective.

Poisoning was a vague cause to which many kinds of sicknesses were attributed, particularly those accompanied by severe pain, perhaps in the joints, which could scarcely be caused by an actual intestinal poison. W Y [789] It seems to be based on a concept of contagious magic. Thus persons fell ill from touching "poisoned" objects such as baskets, articles of clothing, etc. The cure for this was the blowing and rubbing technique. [Yet we saw above S.O. used this technique for curing an objective sickness, the swallowing of injurious seeds by a baby.] Poisoning was thought far more dangerous than intrusion, and most deaths were attributed to it.

W Y 754 S.O. said that "a person receiving a severe fright would know that a doctor was going to sicken him." In such cases the fright was believed to be as much a contributing cause of death as the subsequent poison. Thus a malevolent shaman would send a coyote to scare a man who, seeing a coyote under peculiar circumstances, would realize at once he was someone's victim. His fear would bring on a self-induced illness. Another favorite method of shamans was to send an owl to hoot outside a specified house: on hearing it the inmates felt a foreboding. S.O. knew of one incident when a dove fell dead amongst a group of people, and the person nearest it thought he was doomed: no ordinary dove would so behave. Such creatures would also come as doctor's messengers to foretell death in dreams.

The malicious activities of shamans were well known to S.O. and attested by several anecdotes, which have already been published.[188]

Rain-making

W Y 789 791 There were no persons among the Michahai or Waksachi who had power to control the weather. Like informants from other central and northern Yokuts-Mono tribes, B.O. and S.O. said that all weather shamans were "southerners." Two rain-makers, Su'mik and Taku'mum, visited the Michahai village of Tušao and displayed their powers.

[188] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 391, 393, 394.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

the rite in order that none of the people might be bitten during the ensuing year. Proceeding in a procession to a rattlesnake den, they stamped and whistled before it, the head shaman directly facing the hole, the others on the sides to cut off the return of such snakes as might falter at the impending ordeal. 796 756 [787]

Soon, it is said, the snakes would emerge, usually preceded, it was believed, by a large lizard, and, drawn on by the leading shaman, they crawled straight to his feet, where they buried themselves in a winnowing basket filled with eagle down. Each medicine man in turn pointed out the snake he considered his, distracted its attention by swinging his *wacham* or hand-feathers, seized it, and carried it off in a sack. The worst snake of the lot was left for the head "doctor." [625]

In the evening the tribe gathered under the inevitable shade. While the singers chanted particular melodies to the accompaniment of cocoon rattles the snake shamans walked about whistling, each with his death-bearing sack. They wore down-filled head nets and were painted in alternate horizontal stripes of white and red drawn across the body and limbs. From time to time they placed their bags on the heads of spectators, declaring that thus they determined who was subject to snake bite during the year. [198] [302]

On the following day these prospective victims of the serpents are cured in anticipation in order to prevent their being bitten. Although their infection is entirely imaginary and future, it is treated by the snake shamans by their usual medical means of sucking. The doctors even profess to extract from the not yet existing wound the actual poison—usually a rat's tail or tooth or a small snake—which has already been injected into the body by the future piercing of the skin by the rattlesnake's fangs. This is certainly magic with a vengeance; and it is difficult to imagine a logic of causality more in conflict with our own. [1755]

This precaution for the health of the community having been taken, the snake shamans display their powers to the multitude. They play with the snakes, throw them about, tease them to anger, allow them to bite themselves, and even hold them out hanging by their fangs from the thumb or hand.

The *kuyohoch* or "shaman killers"—in California the doctor is also potentially a nefarious wizard—then appear. Pretending to be trying to shoot the rattlesnake shamans, they make these beg for their lives and pay ransom for being spared.

The last act of the ceremony, the "stepping" itself, is also costly to the shamans, who, far from exploiting the community through their powers, as we might anticipate, are forced to accumulate much property in order to pass through the rite. The rattlesnakes are now

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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went on his errand. To resume human shape a plunge into the same pool was necessary. 778 787

The long period of training before full power is attained seems characteristic for Yokuts bear shamans, as for Yuki. 756

A bear doctor's song: 778

Again he comes, 787
Again the grizzly bear comes to me.

A shaman named Mayemai dreamed that his father sang to him: 533 539

Listen to me,
Mayemai!
There in the east
I shall emerge
Twirling
My hand feathers.

An eagle dance song, originally dreamed:

The earth quakes.
See my eagle
Emerging at the open place!

Coyote songs, dreamed, and perhaps also of moiety totemic reference:

Whirling in front of you,
It is mourned for,
The rope of our world

I am coyote,
We are coyotes.
The earth told them,
The earth said:
You shall not continually scratch me.

Coyote said:
What am I?
I am coyote.
I am of the water.
What am I?
I am coyote.

The frankness of these songs in allusions to the supernatural experience and mention of the guardian, and that in words which are far less altered to fit the rhythm than is customary in California, is remarkable. 756

The doctor's initiation dance of northern California has not been referred to among the Yokuts and seems not to have been practiced.

DISEASE AND CURE.

Three principal methods of curing disease are followed, besides the administration of herbs and parts of animals. Sucking the disease object, a pebble or bit of something, is universal. This is linked 755

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

755 with bloodletting and singing. The Tachi class themselves with the northern tribes as addicted to the former, the southerners as specialists in the latter. A good southern doctor can even kill by his song or restore the dead to life, provided he is summoned in time. Bloodletting was often joined with sucking. The skin was cut, and first [757] blood and then the disease object drawn out. Among the Chukchansi, who have women practitioners as well as men, the inferior shamans sucked only blood. Cuts between the eyes were commonly made for headache, sleepwalking, and other chronic but light ailments. Most of the Chukchansi even to-day carry several such scars.

The use of irritants was not unknown. For stomach ache ants were applied to the abdomen; if the pain did not yield, the insects were wrapped in eagle down and swallowed.

756 His pipe was one of the resources of a doctor; he could cause sick-
[276] ness by blowing tobacco smoke, and perhaps cure by the same method.
The shaman's rattle was the usual California one, but was a little
754] thing with but one or two cocoons. (Fig. 37, *a*.) Occasionally a larger number of cocoons were tied up in a mass of feathers. (Fig.
[533] 37, *f*.) A favorite habit was for the doctor to sing softly to himself before lying down to sleep.

The repeatedly unsuccessful medicine man stood in danger of his own life, and it appears that violence was the end of members of the profession as often as among most California tribes. Even to-day American law has not entirely extirpated this system of re-
754 prisal. In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman
756 bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed and soon died.
When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed
683 at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.

BEAR SHAMANS.

756 The bear doctor did not cure disease, though there is a recorded
[755] instance of one who eased his daughter's childbirth by giving her bear's hair to drink. On the other hand, the Chukchansi accused
[754] bear doctors of making their private enemies ill by shooting little stones into them. Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans, other than as exhibitors of their powers, is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they
[171] seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

The Chukchansi know of a female shaman who on being killed and buried emerged from the ground in the shape of a bear and walked off unmolested. The Tachi ascribe to their bear doctors, and of course especially to those of their neighbors, the faculty of surviving repeated killings in their bear shape: the medicine man merely returns to his home the next night as if nothing had happened. A famous shaman of this kind was at San Luis Obispo in mission times, they declare. Once he was trapped or roped, in his animal form, and had the misadventure of being dragged in to fight a bull. This tale seems to include the Chumash among the tribes that believed in bear doctors. 756

While the valley Tachi bear doctor might dance over a patient, the Choinimni and Yaudanchi had a public dance of such personages, held outdoors. The exhibition is described as harmless in effect, and the dancers were paid, but the purpose of the demonstration, except as a demonstration, is obscure. Obviously the ceremony falls into the same class as the *Ohowish*, *Heshwash*, and rattlesnake stepping rites already mentioned. The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a headband of eagle down and a claw necklace, or skin around the loins, that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. The step was a short stiff leap with a heavy land. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe. [302 292] [535]

RATTLESNAKE SHAMANS.

The Chukchansi, among whom the public stepping ceremony was lacking or slenderly developed, nevertheless had shamans who cured rattlesnake bites. The poison was sucked out with a bone whistle, pointed, however, at the sun, and not at the bitten part. The poison was then displayed as a salivalike string—no doubt from the shaman's own mouth—and put away in a basket to be kept by him. The connection of rattlesnake and sun has already been alluded to as regards the shaman's spirit. The Yaudanchi rattlesnake doctor extracted gopher teeth by direct sucking: as the snake feeds on gophers, it retains their teeth to inject as poison. 752 755

Rattlesnake doctors are said to have received only moderate fees, as contrasted with the bankrupting payment to the Yuki shaman; and rattlesnakes are declared to have been killed, though reluctance to do this is so great among most other California Indians that it may be supposed that even among the Yokuts a common man would not lightly perform the act. 756 171

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Moss, rock	*Yah-kow in-sum'-sum* 192
Poppy, Escholtzia, Californica	*Aw-wah e-tus* 824
Poppy, wild	*Yoh-eh me-yuh*
Rose, wild	*Haw-uh'-wus*
Sequoia (big tree)	*Toos-pung-ish*
Soap root	*Trak-quat*
Sunflower	*Wah-suh-wi*
Sagebrush, mountain	*Home-nuh*
Turkey Mullen	*You-huh*
Tulip, Mariposa	*Gow-me'-yuh*
Tulip, Star	*Cah-mi'-yuh*
Thistle, Drummond	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, ground	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, California	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, Anderson	*Sah-du'-dah*
Tongue, Western Hounds	*Tah-dud*
Water Grass	*Kah-uh'-pe*
Weed, salt	*Sick-id Ku-you*
Weed, Tumble	*Tow-it'-chits*
Yerba Santa or Mt. Balm	*Kits-in'-ne*

EDIBLE AND MEDICINAL PLANTS

The practice of medicine by Indians is not often well understood. White settlers have generally stated that the Indian doctor practiced witchery. This is without question the truth. Two degrees were granted in medicine by the Yokuts—*Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo) and *Tripne* (Trip'-ne). Indian doctors first attained the Ahntru degree. They could cure complaints with roots and herbs and some claimed to be able to cure by magic. Both men and women might be Ahntru. The Tripne Indian doctor, or medicine man, was a shaman, or fakir, and was called in after practical medicines had failed. He was feared by the rest of the tribe and upon the death of his third patient, or when he was suspected of having used his supernatural power to cause a death, was himself generally put to death. 758 824 756 683

The practice of the Tripne medicine man consisted of a weird sing-song chant for the purpose of driving away evil spirits, of blood letting, of pounding and hammering the patient, and of the pretense of removing the pain by means of cutting and drawing off the blood and object causing the pain from the cut through a tube or the hollow of the hand. 755

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

755 This last practice was an entire deception. The tube used was about six inches in length and had a hole in the center about three-fourths of an inch in diameter. It was sometimes made of stone but was often made of a hollow elder limb.

The cut was made on the body of the patient at a point where the pain was most severe. A small object, sometimes the tail of a lizard which would still twitch, a small piece of arrow point or a thing of like nature was concealed in the hand or mouth of the medicine man.

The medicine man placed his mouth at the end of the tube and by sucking caused the blood to flow from the cut quite freely. When this was accomplished, the tube was removed and the bloody tail or arrow point exhibited as the article which was causing the pain.

278 757 But all of this practice was a last resource. The Yokuts Indians along the Kaweah river still gather and trade and barter among themselves plants, roots, and herbs. These are used for every conceivable human ill, including rheumatism, cold in the chest, sore throat, coughing, nose bleed, and countless others. One of the common plants used as a medicine was eaten in such quantities as to be classed as a common article of food. This was the wild sweet, or purple, clover.

The writer has seen in one Wukchumne camp no less than twenty wild foodstuffs and home remedies, all of which were used at various times throughout the year.

The following incomplete list of food and medicinal plants used by the Wukchumne Yokuts will indicate how extensive was this practice and will also point out to those informed in practical medicine how well the curative qualities of the various plants was understood by these primitive people.

278 Buckeye	*Top'-pong.* Fruit ground, leached, and eaten.
192 Blackberry	*Mah'-min.* Dried in cake form.
Brodiaea, Golden	*Chang'-ke.* Bulbs eaten.
Brodiaea, Minor	*Hawt-naw'-we.* Bulb eaten.
Clover, sweet	*Che-tot.* Eaten raw, with salt from salt grass.
Cherry, bitter	*Shup.*
Fern, Common	*Loy-yo.* Root used for medicine.
Fern, Brittle	Used as medicine by Dunlap Indians but name not known.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 "When we go to them tawits I go with my chawmish snake
756 basket. Chechin go 'head. He take step to one side, then step
796 to other side in time with them Uhdukut singin' and dancin'. Them other snake doctors do same thing. Then Chechin take snake out my chawmish basket. He hold left hand under snake's head, hold front of snake's body along left forearm. He hold middle of snake with right hand and rest of snake on his right arm.

"Each Trudum dance 'round with his snake. His relation dance 'round behind him. All time them Uhdukut singin' and dancin' one-step dance.

"While them Uhdukut singin' and dancin', them people go in circle in front of them Trudum snake doctors. They hold one bare foot down over them snakes. Then they throw Indian shell money, or white man silver money in Tawits with snakes. Some Tawits got more beads and money than snake. People
[751] take their children through circle, too, so they don't get snake-bit that summer.

[522] "Them Uhdukut got one clown doctor called *Kiyu* (Ki'-yoo, Coyote). Everybody call for Kiyu. Kiyu was Indian named *Sahlahpun*, from Tule River. Kiyu pick out bad snake and tease it. Pretty soon that snake get mad. He strike Kiyu
159 on back his hand. Then them Trudum snake doctors try to
● 755 save him. They pay him lots money, 'bout fifty dollars for that
796 job. They rub ashes on him. Then they cut where that snake bite and suck on it through wood pipe made from elderberry limb. They take out bad blood, green things, maybe squirrel bone, or hair. Then Kiyu get well.

159 'It's Kiyu's business to make lots of fun, too. He run
756 'round and get in them Uhdukuk, snake doctor's way. He do
796 that at every place I see that rattlesnake dance, Porterville,
522 Dunlap, Centerville.

"Sometimes them Kiyu got bad luck. Once *Puslilin*,
159 (Poos-lill'-in) from Squaw Valley, was Kiyu at dance at Dun-
756 lap. He tease big snake. Chechin tell him, 'Better you take
796 little one'. But Puslilin want big one. Then Chechin take
777 Puslilin away and talk to him. He tell Puslilin he see buzzard kill squirrel. That sure to mean real bad luck for somebody. That buzzard catch live squirrel and carry it high up in air and drop it. It fall on Puslilin's bed. Then that buzzard come down to eat that squirrel. But it on Puslilin's bed, so he 'fraid to take it. He go away. That's sure real bad luck for Puslilin.

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"But Puslilin already got one hundred dollars silver pay, 159
so he go 'head anyway. Them Uhdukut snake doctors got to 756
pay Puslilin that money. It take almost all money them doctors 796
got from doctorin' them people. But they got to pay him anyway to show they can sure cure snake bite. Chechin tell Puslilin, 'Well, you goin'to die tonight'. Puslilin squeeze that snake head and throw it on the ground. It strike him on both hands. Then that Uhdukut take his snake and put it back in his Tawits basket. Then Puslilin fall down.

"Two Uhdukut doctors take Puslilin to his bed where that 159
squirrel fall. They begin to doctor him. They work on him all 755
night. They tie one *pisasin*, eagle down string, around each 796
arm below his shoulder. Then doctors have all them people yell so Puslilin can't go to sleep and die. About sun-up Puslilin get better, so all them people stop yellin'. But Puslilin lost one finger that rattlesnake bit."

Tawpnaw, an aged Wukchumne, saw six rattlesnake 159
dances. His story verifies those of Ichow and Pohut and adds 756
a few details which are related below: 796

"When them Wukchumne snake doctors get ready for that rattlesnake dance, they paint their faces. They paint white [302]
and red stripes across faces. They put three red and three white stripes on each cheek. Some tribe doctors paint stripes across arms, chest, too.

"When that dance all over, them people don't get snake-bit all summer. If Indian man hunt deer, rattlesnake won't bite him. If Indian woman gather seeds, rattlesnake won't bite 'em. If rattlesnake do bite 'em, them Indian snake doctor got to cure 'em free.

"Them Indian snake doctors keep snakes in *awsuh* [bottle-necked stitched baskets]. When they first catch snakes they put 'em in chawmish [blackberry gathering twined basket]. I see that all time. I know that's right."

As this manuscript is being completed there is one Yokuts 756
man living who attended the rattlesnake dances and who remembers how they were conducted. He is *Wahumchah*, a 796
Yowlumne. He adds to the foregoing descriptions the rattlesnake doctor's song. This song is about a rattlesnake who is 198
crawling on the ground and looking up at a magpie nest in a tree. He wants to eat the young birds in the nest, but he cannot climb the tree. Wahumchah has explained that the Yokuts [533
songs do not have the same words as the rest of the language. 192]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 dressed Cuksa. He wore an Ahntru headdress and skirt. In
769 one hand he carried *trah-waht'-will*, the rattle, or clapper.

756 Cuksa sang and went around among the people. He made lots of fun doing like the Tripne Doctors did. At last the doctors began shooting at him. He fell down and his people carried him back to his camp. The doctors doctored him and he finally came alive again. The people gave him some money. He was only to make fun.

[234] The middle doctor shot at those at the ends. When he killed one, the Winatun took him to the other side and the doctors there doctored him. If he was not hit bad they took [755] it out, an arrow point, acorn, rock or something. [these objects were introduced by sleight-of-hand] Then he went back to fight. If he was hit bad they took him to his camp.

There were a lot of helpers called *Chamum Maets* (Chah'-mum ma'-ets). They walked around those fighting. They yelled and disturbed the other side. Each doctor had his own Chamum Maets. They had to pay these helpers.

The middle doctor spread *saw-nil* [eagle down] around him [237] on the ground where the other doctors had been shooting at him. Then he brushed it up. The sawnil is Tripne and he took out of it [by sleight-of-hand] the things the other doctors had been shooting at him.

The fight was kept up until only one doctor was left. The outside people all paid the doctors while they were fighting, even after they had been hit. They gave them beads or arrows for pay. The doctors made lots of money that way. I saw all of this twice, once at *Sulawlahne* at the "Fish" Rice Ranch, south of Farmersville and once at Tule River Reservation.

The fourth night was when we came out with the clothes
159 stuffed like the dead people. About midnight they were
769 brought out and carried around and pointed at the big fire for two or three hours. All of the time everyone was singing

[539]

Ah-hah'-nah
(We sing)
Yoo'-e uh'-la
(You are going to burn)
We-ah'-ah hah
(We are crying)
(Repeated indefinitely)

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Jennie, an aged Wukchumne, and her granddaughter. This photo is of importance because the granddaughter has on the bridge of her nose the marks of fresh cuts made by a medicine man. Her grandmother has on her nose the scars of such doctoring. Both have their hair bobbed in mourning. Jennie was a Chumlus at the great Eshom Valley Ghost Dance. Photo, taken about 1890, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

159 Then you bury your father, mother, maybe your wife. You
769 put everything in ground and all decay. We *burn* good clothes
and they *do not* decay. They go to *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn* [the
hereafter] so our dead person always has good clothes to wear.
[775] What do you think?

On the sixth morning everyone was dancing when *Tow-ahn'-itch,* the morning star, was beginning to fade and it was getting daylight. The Teah called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and everyone ran to the creek to be washed. The dancing and singing and crying of the Lonewis was over. We could be washed and dressed in our new clothes and have a big feast of meat and let our hair grow again.

159 The *Chumlus* had our new clothes and new baskets to wash
767 us in. She washed my mother and me. We took off our clothes
769

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The Chunut doctors had a Tripne (magic) stone. It was just like a doughnut. They called it *Cuhmumwum Weah* (Cuh-moom'-wum We'-ah), the thunder and lightning stone. I used to know its song, but I have forgotten it. My old uncle, *Teh-nih'-pahs,* taught it to me. I think once all the Indians around Tulare Lake had these songs. They used the Cuhmumwum Weah to make thunder and lightning and to make whirlwinds and cool breezes. I saw my uncle make whirlwinds once with this stone. 159 756 778

The doctors had another stone. Even the Ahntru Doctors knew how to use it to doctor people. But the Tripne Doctors could do lots more things with it. It was a long stone with a hole through the middle. The *Chunut* called it *Ta'-khot-un Tis-a'-he.*

The doctor put the hollow stone over the place where the person was hurting and sucked on the other end. He took the pain out that way. Sometimes he took out an arrow point, rattlesnake rattles, or lizard tail. Then the sick person got well. I saw them do that. 159 755

Almost all the doctors were men. Once a man and his wife were both Tripne doctors. Finally they went out of sight in the middle of the day. This was at *Chaw-lo'-win,* the old *Wowol* village where Alpaugh is now. They lived there on the sand ridge for many years, but the people could never see them. 159 756

They saw tracks in the sand and saw where the doctors had dug tule roots, but they could never see the Tripne man and wife. They could see the smoke from their fires. They also found pieces of abalone shell in the sand at their camps. They brought the first abalone shell to Tulare Lake. My old uncle told me all about this. He was a Wowol.

Tumnah (Toom'-nah) was a real old Tachi when I was a little girl. We thought he was more than one hundred years old. He was a young man before the Spanish people came to Tulare Lake after the Indians. He used to tell me about how the Spanish came and took the Indians away from *Tokuh Lihnuh,* the West Side.

Once Tumnah told me about two bad Indian doctors. He had helped kill one of them who lived at the old *Nutunutu* village at Kingston. These doctors had killed some *Tachi* people. They would change themselves into coyotes and go sneaking around after the Tachi and making them sick. They would 159 754

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595 While polygamy occurred among Yokuts and Western Mono it was
622 not frequent. The chief was more likely than other men to have two wives. This was partly because of his wealth which permitted him to pay for and support them, and also because of the more numerous household duties in his menage. The chief's wives must have food ready for immediate preparation at all times because of the hospitality [574] extended to visitors in the tribe; they cared for the poor of their village, and at the same time entertained socially in a more lavish manner than other families.

556 In monetary wealth the chief always surpassed his fellow-citizens.
622 The manner in which his worldly goods were acquired is not completely clear but there are several known sources. One of these was [439] through commercial trading of desirable objects such as eagle down, and of articles traded with trans-Sierra Mono, or between local tribes. [778] The commerce in eagle down was controlled by the chief as the bird was sacred to him and could not be killed without his permission. On this matter a Wukchumni (Y) informant gave the following:[25]

622 Only a chief could order an eagle killed. He paid the man who
237 killed it three to five dollars for the bird. Some man or woman was
778 then asked to prepare the bird; they were paid for their trouble. The
439 large feathers were plucked off. The skin was removed with the down still on it. The leg bones were kept for making whistles. The meat was removed but only the fat saved for tallow salve. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were kept by the chief, and these he sold to doctors or any other persons who wanted them for religious or ceremonial purposes. The carcass was given a special ritualistic burial, at which a mournful attitude prevailed.

622 This trade in eagle products brought some profit to the chief. The
237 demand for eagle down was constant as it was used by the majority
556 of people for religious purposes such as scattering during prayer, and to make ropes of down which had power in curing sickness. Such [755] ropes were used by non-professional persons who had supernatural power as well as by doctors.

622 Further profit came to the chief through intertribal commerce.
439 Traders who came from other tribes with baskets, pottery, salt, tanned
556 skins, etc., would first go to the chief's house to state their business, as was customary with all outsiders, and to receive the welcoming meal. Hence the chief had first chance to buy the wares they brought and retail them to his neighbors if he so wished. As a man of wealth

[25] Sam Garfield; see Appendix.

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796 The bear dance among the Wobonuch (WM) was determined as
826 follows:[22]
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The bear men remembered are Unurigan (bear dancer), Supana (the interpreter's maternal grandfather), and Tcineda, his half-brother. The oldest bear man thought about the time to hold the dance. Then he sent for the bear dancers from other camps. Only those persons of the bear lineage danced who had "taken" bear for a supernatural helper through a dream. Many other people were in bear lineages but did nothing in respect to their totem except to refrain from eating or killing it. The dance was held in September or October, for if it were not held before bears holed in for the winter, all people of the bear lineage would sicken and die. Furthermore, no one with a bear totem might eat of the new acorn crop until after the dance had been made. If the dance were properly performed, Bear, the totemic, supernatural patron of the lineage, would continue to function for his human protégés even during the period of hibernation.

[787]

All people with a bear totem contributed money for the dance, but only the dreamers danced. Food was supplied by the bear lineages for all visitors (who stayed not more than three days). Hunters and fishermen always brought game to sell at such festivals.

791 The Entimbich (Y) gave the snake dance yearly. It was attended
796 by neighboring Yokuts and Western Mono tribes. The procedure in giving the dance was as follows:[23]

A big snake doctor would think it was time to make the snake dance, which always took place in the spring. He would send a winatum after the other snake doctors in his tribe. They talked over the affair and set a date for it. Then they notified the chief. If he agreed to the plans, messages were sent to all villages and camps of near-by tribes. At Kiteeyu, where the Entimbich were centralized, Chukaimina (Y), Choinimni (Y), Michahai (Y), Wobonuch (WM), and sometimes Waksachi (WM) came. Everyone had to attend this ceremony during which the doctors predicted who would be bitten by rattlesnakes during the coming season. A preventive "cure" was given these people then and there. In fact, participation in the ceremony at all was regarded as preventive. . . . . The doctors making the dance had to see that food was supplied for all visitors. Both chiefs' and doctors' winatums looked after the various details. (The doctors were of course generously paid for giving the ceremony, though they apparently did not profit by it. It was their civic duty to give the affair. The money paid by the spectators was theoretically in propitiation of the rattlesnakes themselves over which the doctors had control through dreams.)

[755]

[782]

622 A sweat-house could not be built without the chief's permission.
344 If the men of a village thought a new sweat-house was needed they would consult the chief, who would decide when it was to be made. Usually every man in the village helped in its construction, which was directed by winatums. Among the Wobonuch (WM) the chief announced that a feast would be held six days after the work was

[22] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.
[23] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter.

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756 The usual method of securing a doctor was to send a fee with the request for him to come. Shamans of reputation were often sent for even when they lived two days' journey away. Doctors traveled about a great deal and might be here or there. If the doctor accepted the fee he came as quickly as possible and began his ritual of diagnosis and cure. The performance lasted about two days, longer if the patient were slow in recovering. The doctor received an additional fee after he began his curing. A doctor of repute received from thirty to fifty dollars for visiting a patient, occasionally more if he were extremely powerful. Ordinarily a shaman did not return any of the money received even if the cure were unsuccessful and death resulted. The Kechayi (Y) informant stated that a good doctor would return the fee in case of failure if the doctor had come from a distance he kept enough to pay for his trouble. But this was unusual. People stood in such fear of a shaman, especially one of doubtful reputation, that they preferred to let him retain the fee rather than engender his ill will by asking for its return. This custom of retaining the fee [556] increased the shaman's wealth and augmented the belief that doctors made people ill just to get their money. The usual excuse for failing to cure a patient was that the shaman who had caused the sickness had more power than the one who was attempting the cure. The name of the criminal doctor could not be disclosed even if the curing doctor suspected or knew who he was, for fear of his own life, i.e., the more powerful shaman would kill him. Only an eminent doctor who knew his occult powers to be supreme would dare to continue a cure against the animosity of another shaman.[52]

The most common cause of illness was believed to be the intrusion 753 into the body of some foreign object which had been projected by the 755 evil magic of a doctor. The extraction of this object by cutting and sucking theoretically constituted a cure. The intruding object was always exhibited upon its extraction by the curing shaman; it might be a few hairs, finger-nail clippings, insects, a blood clot, the moustache of a mountain lion, and so on.

754 The art of poisoning was known throughout south central California and was clearly distinguished from supernatural causes of sickness. When known to have caused deaths, poisoners were killed just as were shamans. The case of a bad chief who used poisons from sheer maliciousness as well as to make money will be described in a later section.

[52] See anecdote, p. 394.

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754 the latter returned with the sheriff who made Koikoi a prisoner. Haloptca went home and buried his father. Koikoi was taken to Fresno and then to San Quentin. He died there.

Doctors were generally feared by the Wukchumni (Y) as elsewhere. Mary Pohot told the following incident as a specific instance of a prevailing condition:

When Mary was a young girl she lived with her aunt. The old lady had a new blanket for which she had paid twenty dollars. A doctor knew about this and came to the house demanding that it be given him. He threatened to make everybody in the house sick. The old lady was frightened. The doctor gave her $1.50 for the blanket and went off with it.

That evening Mary's uncle returned. His wife told him what had happened. The old man was furious; in spite of his wife's protests he went to the doctor and demanded full payment. The doctor just laughed at him. He said, "All right, I'll pay," and gave the old man two worthless baskets. This kind of thing happened all the time.

Another Wukchumni informant, Jim Britches, told of his own experience at the hands of a bad Patwisha (WM) shaman:

A Patwisha named Tcitcēn was Jim Britches' stepfather. Tcitcēn was a "big" doctor. When Jim was quite young, perhaps ten years old, his mother, Tcitcēn, and himself were living at Naranjo (Wukchumni territory). Tcitcēn disliked Jim; he wanted to kill him. He sent $10 up to Little Dick at Kiteeyu asking him to help kill Jim. Little Dick refused. Then Tcitcēn went ahead with his own power and made Jim sick. The boy became delirious.

Just at this time there was to be a big fandango at Ironbridge, near Naranjo. A powerful Choinimni doctor, Pucllilin, and his winatum, Pony Dick Watun, came down for the celebration. Jim's mother sent for Pucllilin to come treat her son. When he arrived Pucllilin asked Tcitcēn why he, who was a big doctor, did not cure Jim. Tcitcēn demurred, saying that he had tried but had not enough power.

Jim's mother was weeping now; she had given up all hope of her son's recovery. He was very sick; he had pains in his chest, at the back of his neck, and between the eyes. Pucllilin cut in these places and sucked at the wound. He sucked out hard lumps of blood. Jim began to get better at once. Pucllilin knew all the time that it was Tcitcēn who had been making Jim sick. It was only because he was a very powerful doctor that he dared to cure Jim.

[755]

The activities of a Wukchumni doctor among the Gawia, and his resulting death in Waksachi territory, were described by Sam Osborn:

A Wukchumni doctor, Camaka, killed several Gawia. He wiped out a man's entire family until there was no one left but a little boy, the man's father's sister's son. The man could stand it no longer, so he went to some white people and traded his little cousin for a gun. This was the first Indian in this region to possess a gun. Someone told him that Camaka had gone up to Tcitatu for a fandango. The Gawia followed him and camped in Eshom valley about a mile above Tcitatu.

Bob Osborn, who was the chief's son, Sam Osborn, and two other men saw the camp and went out to ask the Gawia what he was doing there. The man told them what had happened to his family, that he had come up to kill Camaka, and hence

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754 clicking sound like someone filliping his finger nail against his forehead. At the same instant the mother fell down; blood ran from her nose; she remained unconscious for several minutes. Her relatives picked her up and put her in the wagon. They all drove over to Kingston. Teokonik treated Josie's mother by cutting the [755] skin between her eyebrows. He sucked out a finger-nail clipping. It was Teokonik who had "shot" it into her from a long way off while he was at Piedra, on Kings river. They paid him $20 for his services.

Teokonik was considered a very fine doctor because he could cure without [756] cutting. Once a man died after Teokonik had treated him and he was accused of killing his patient. But Josie believes someone else must have killed him. Teokonik was put in jail at Hanford for this, and on another occasion at Visalia. Bob Tista intervened for him both times. On the first occasion the man who had poisoned Teokonik's patient ran away and was later caught, so the doctor was exonerated.

Another Choinimni doctor caused Josie herself to fall ill:

[231] About twenty years ago Josie was up in the Kaweah river foothills shearing sheep. There too was a Choinimni doctor named Teukpa. He and Josie talked to each other occasionally; later he asked her to sleep with him. She refused, upon which he became very angry and threatened to make her sick. She told him if he did anything to her she would kill him. That night they were playing the hand game with several others. Teukpa got mad because Josie was winning. He had his magic talisman wrapped in a handkerchief in his pocket. He pulled out the bundle and struck Josie across the eyes with it. She immediately had a headache and nose bleed. Haitcatca, a man with some supernatural power, was [755] there. He cut, sucked, and cured Josie. He sucked out only blood. He told her she would be blind some day, but she still sees very well. (The scars from this, and no doubt other cuttings, are plainly visible on her forehead.)

Teukpa was finally poisoned. If he had been a really powerful doctor he could have cured himself. Nowadays people will pay anybody who is hard up, and willing to do it, to poison undesirable persons like Teukpa: "They just do it to see if he is mets añṭu (strong doctor)."

A Nutunutu (Y) shaman who terrorized the Indians about Tulare lake killed Josie's cousin:

This story concerns Pokoi'ik, Motsa's friend.[37] Josie had a daughter, Mukuyik, nine or ten years old. One day she developed a severe pain in her right side; she had convulsions and died the next day. Later Josie learned from an old man that she had been killed by Pokoi'ik. This shaman was young and wanted to prove his power. Josie's husband had been working up at Kingston where Pokoi'ik lived. The shaman asked him for some money. He refused, saying that he had no money, that Josie had it all. This was true for the couple had been working hard and saved all they could. But Pokoi'ik got mad. He told this old man, "They'll dig up their money when their girl gets sick." He didn't go to Josie to ask for the money but just made Mukuyik sick. He killed her just to prove that he was able to. Said Josie, "Doctors often did this; they just like to try it like we'd try anything."

Pokoi'ik became more malicious as his power increased, and people feared him more. Once Josie's brother, Wepia, and her cousin went up to a fandango

[37] See anecdote, p. 405.

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Joe Pohot, a Wukchumni informant, described his own experience from poisoning as follows. 754 159

Once in the fall of the year Joe got poisoned by some old people who didn't like him. He was shearing sheep near Woodlake (Wukchumni territory). He was sleeping with Sam Garfield and his father at their camp, but they didn't do him any harm. It was somebody else. One morning he awoke to find finger prints on his right forearm and left thigh. These parts began to swell. He went out to work but had to stop after shearing only two sheep. He went over to sit in the shade. The other men at work laughed at him. He got worse continually; he could hardly move. Finally everyone left to go to dinner. Joe couldn't move from where he was. Soon Sam Osborn came along. Seeing Joe he asked him what was the trouble with him. He got some food and a horse and helped him over to Antelope valley where his grandmother and Mollie Lawrence were living. When they reached the camp no one was at home, but Sam had to go on his way. Joe went off to the swamp to find his relatives. He fell into the mud and lay there. He does not remember much here except that his grandmother and Mollie found him and got him home in a wagon.

For one year Joe stayed there too sick to get up; his arm and leg were swollen up and useless. His grandfather had been away. When the old man returned he saw Joe's condition; he told him that someone had grabbed him and put poison on him. The old man gave Joe a steaming. He first got some eagle tallow which was dropped on a hot stone while Joe sat over it wrapped in a blanket. Next he steamed him with a basket of hot water in which tadad (a plant, unidentified) had been soaked. The water was kept boiling with hot stones. Joe remained under the blanket as long as he could stand it. Then he drank some of the decoction. The next morning he was nearly cured but his leg remained drawn up in a crippled fashion. 754 755 159

He stayed crippled a long time. In the meantime his grandfather died. A shaman came by their way. He said he could cure Joe. This doctor had an eagle down rope which he dipped in water and rubbed under Joe's knee; he blew in there too. This caused the joint to open sufficiently for him to get his mouth in to suck. The doctor made a small cut with a piece of glass. He sucked at the wound and got out a lump that looked like a lot of string wrapped around blood. He made a second cut and sucked out another smaller lump. These objects were buried in the ash heap.

The doctor was paid about fifty dollars, thirty of which was in cash, the rest in baskets and blankets. The doctor told Joe that he was going to leave him his own good health, as he himself was going to die soon because he had cured a man that some other doctor had sickened. The doctor did die about a year later. Joe was saved from poisoning a few times after that by waking up in time. [756]

To return to Motsa, the evil Tachi chief, it was largely by the use of poisons that he injured members of his locality, though he possessed some supernatural power. The following account of his life and activities gives us an outward picture of the man's inimical attitude toward his fellowmen. The inward picture of his psychology can only be inferred. 622 754